28: Spiro--33 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 156 Ifalik

"The first thing that strikes the observer about Ifaluk production is its cooperative nature, this being true not only in the manufacture of objects which are obviously for public consumption, but even for those which are for private use, and which are owned privately. Furthermore, even those activities whose very nature requires individual effort, are performed not in private, but in the company of others, each person doing the same work. Gregariousness is characteristic of this society, and has important psychological implications, since it is a compulsive gregariousness stemming from a deep-seated need to be with people, to avoid isolation."

28: Spiro--34
116, 345, 283, 461, 156

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1
Ifalik

"A factor of major importance in the use of the canoe-house for the manufacture of rope is its function as a social as well as economic center. Since the destruction of the men's club houses in the last typhoon the canoe-houses have taken over their function, so that the men now congregate in the canoe-houses as formerly they congregated in the club-houses. Now this fact is important for an understanding of Ifaluk culture. Though there is a word for work in the Ifaluk vocabulary (engan), it refers to discrete and specific forms of labor, and is not used as a generic term, as it is in our own culture, as when a man says he is 'going to work.' No one has his special work to perform each day, from which he rests at the end of the day or the end of the week. So, too, there is neither a term nor a concept corresponding to our word economics. Our conceptualization of life activities into economic, social, recreational, etc, does not hold for the Ifaluk. This means that the various kinds of work (engan) that are performed are recognised as responses to certain basic survival needs, but the concept of work as vocation or as moral career that this term has assumed in western society, at least in its Puritan and Calvinist tradition, is completely foreign to the natives, and indeed would be inexplicable to them. Theoretical considerations aside, this means that a man's day is his own, to do with what he desires, and among the activities he engages in, are certain activities of economic importance. A man goes to his club-house in the morning

because there he will be with the other men, where he can discuss the events of the day, engage someone in a conversation, and at the same time, make rope, if he so desires. But there is nothing compulsive about his rope-making, or for that matter, about any economic activity. There is no concept of an economic obligation, 'this ought to be done', except insofar as it relates to basic biological needs, and then 'ought' has no place at all, for it is obvious that if a man wishes to eat, he must fish etc."

28: Spiro--54-55 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 156, 787, 831 Ifalik

"In contrast to the general infrequency of possession is the frequency with which Arogeligar is possessed. Unfortunately I did not record the number of times he was possessed, but hardly a week passed without his being possessed at least once. And invariably he would blow blasts on his whistle and walk through the village hoping to induce others to follow him. Often these possessions occured late at night after most people were asleep. Unlike the others, who are possessed by the alusisalup, Arogeligar is possessed by an Alusiang, the Ifaluk patron diety, Tilitr. This possession is known as 'abwuter aluseuelaush', our father has come.'

We may now look at two cases of possession that I witnessed. The first happened two nights after a two day ceremony. We were sitting in our tenst when we heard singing and the shrill blows of a whistle, and I went out to see what was happening. The people of the house closest to our tent were seated in the courtyard, singing what was obviously a chapeng, but this in itself did not mean a possession since the singing of chapengs in the evening is not at all unusual. I was then attracted by a much louder singing proceeding from another house much further from our tent. When I arrived, I noticed that there were about 20 people seated in front of the house, singing a chapeng, and that a few showed minor degrees of possession, by euphoric smiles on their faces, the quality of the singing, and the movement of their arms and bodies. Arogeligar was leading the

singing, and was obviously 'high.' Normally he would greet me with a smile, and with the native greeting of mauwas. That night, however, and indeed on all nights that he was possessed or high--and usually it was both--he would greet me with one of the few English phrases he had picked up--'good morning'--in a shrill voice, accompanied by a sharp jerk of his arm in my direction. By this time Dr. Burrows had arrived, as well, and he offered us both a wreath. It was evident that he had been possessed before we had arrived, and had come out of the possession, but was still influenced by it, and this impression was later confirmed when our boy, Talimera, informed me that the alus had come to Arogeligar. After about half an hour of singing, he announced that he was going to the home of Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, and invited us to accompany him. The women remained behind, and he was accompanied by the young men, all singing as they walked up the path, whilst he was blowing his whistle. Talimera had just been possessed, too, as he informed me the next day. At Paluelimar's there was more singing, and at Arogeligar's request, Paluelimar placed tobacco on the shrine in his courtyard. After about twenty minutes, the entire group left Paluelimar to go to Tom's house. Arogeligar asked Tom to tell us that he and the boys were going to continue their walking through the woods, and that it would be better if we returned, which, of course, we did. I heard singing and whistling until late into the night, when I finally fell asleep.

The next day, Talimera informed me that a woman had been bathing in the channel

between Felarik and Falalap in the early evening, and an alusengau had frightened her by throwing stones at her, and by rustling the water. Just about the same time Arogeligar was possessed, and he frightened the alusengau, so that it had separated.

On the evening of Octoger fifth, I was scoring the day's Rorschach records when I heard chapeng singing coming from a near-by house. I went to investigate, followed later by Dr. Burrows. Arogeligar was just leaving the courtyard of the house, as we approached. This time he recited his 'good morning' again, but instead of jerking his arm as a form of greeting, he seized the hand of Dr. Burrows and kissed it.

As we came to the house, we saw the members of the family seated, singing a chapeng, but we could not make out their movements, since it was a coal-black night there being no moon. We sat down, and the husband of one of the women of the house brought us a mat, and also a small fire, and explained that the alus had arrived.

With the aid of the light, we could now make out the two women, Levagoman and [55] Tavelear who were seated in front of the doorway, and the other members of the household who were seated in the courtyard. The former was was a widow, in her late thirties, and the latter, her 'sister', a very beautiful woman in her early thirties, whose husband whom she had not seen for a year, had just returned from Woleae the previous day. Tavelear was obviously possessed. She was singing the chapeng in a tremulous

voice, with a pronounced trebel, clapping her thighs to the rhythm of the music, and intermittently breaking into laughter and hysterical giggles. Her voice was quite hoarse, and at times was scarcely audible, so that she would sing in a falsetto. Throughout she was gay and 'happy', in a strange way. There is little doubt but that her behavior was hysterical. I had known her very well, having spent much time in her house observing her baby, and it was difficult for me to realize that this was Taveliar. Normally she is quiet, taciturn, not given to exaggerated movements of any kind. The contrast was glaring. This hysterical seizure lasted about fifteen minutes, after which, she passed out of it, singing along with the rest, but in her normal voice, and patently exhausted. (13)"

"13. [See following sheet for footnote 13.]"

"13. [Footnote 13, p. 55] It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for her posession. Her husband had just returned the day before from Woleae, where he had been living quite a long time. She had a suckling baby that could not yet walk, and intercourse is prohibited until the baby can walk. Now Tavelear has the reputation of being a sensuous woman, and Tom often remarked how difficult it had been to satisfy her sexually when he had had an affair with her. Now her husband had returned, she had been with him for two days, and could not yet have intercourse, which for her constituted a severe frustration. Her aroused sexual feelings that could not find a normal expression, were 'converted' or canalized into the hysterical seizure. This, of course, is in agreement with the psychoanalytic interpretation of conversion hysteria in general.

The dance she performed during the seizure lends credence to this interpretation. It was a most sensuous dance--her hips and thighs rolling and swaying to the weaving of her arms, in perfect sensuous rhythm. The atmosphere, Dr. Burrows and I agreed, seemed laden with sex."

"A culture that asserts the existence of imaginary beings will inevitably produce people who actually perceive those beings. Arogeligar has seen many alusenagau. I have already alluded to the woman who claimed that an alusengau threw stones at her. Tom, who is the most acculturated and most sophisticated of the natives, and who, as we shall see, expressed skepticism concerning the power of the alusemar, has no doubt that people see the alusengau. One morning, for example, he came to inform me that the night before, while he had been with me, his wife and adult son had heard an alus. They first heard his cane being dragged across the roof of their house, and later they heard someone walking about the house, and then spit. Though they were both very frightened, when they heard the steps again, they looked out, but the alus (for that is what they thought it was) was gone. I asked Tom if he had something (some medicine) to keep the alus away, and he had none. He wanted to know if I could protect myself if an alus should want to attack me, and I said I had. He asked me if I would give him my medicine, but I explained that only Americans could use it, and that if the alus should appear again, he should call me, and I would scare him away with my flashlight, since the alus, I told him, were frightened of the flashlights. In the late afternoon Tom came to our tent to remind me of my promise. The next morning when Tom came to see us I asked if the alus had come the night before, and he said it had not come, because it had heard him discussing the matter with me, and had been scared away.

Another time I noticed that Tom had moved into an uninhabited house in his courtyard. When I asked the reason he explained that he had dreamt of being chased by an alus, and therefore moved to the other house, as a precautionary measure. This, indeed, indicates strong fear in view of the fact that dreams are usually not interpreted as omens of the future, or as having any other significance."